

11 July 1956

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Foster:

Attached are some ideas for your tomorrow's  
statement on the de-Stalinization program.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

Encl.

AWD:at

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10 July 1956

Draft Statement on Soviet 30 June Resolution (for 11 July)

As I have just returned from a brief vacation I have not had an opportunity to read all the recent statements which have been made in the Soviet Union, the European satellites and in the Free World with regard to the de-Stalinization program and the events at Poznan. Also, I note that the Supreme Soviet is meeting in Moscow today and this meeting may well bring further information as to the governmental attitude in the Soviet Union on some of these dramatic developments.

It seems to me apparent, however, from what I have read that a great debate is in process. This debate goes to the very heart of the form of government in the Communist world. There, as in the Free World, the question is being raised as to the safeguards for the future against a repetition of the evils of the Stalinist era both in the domestic and international fields.

Certainly there is satisfaction for us in the West, with our established traditions of political freedom, in noting that the Communist Party has promised the Russian people to reform the Stalinist system of government and to guarantee individual citizens "freedom of speech, press and conscience as well as real opportunity for the development of personal abilities, and all other democratic rights and liberties."

The Soviet people must also be welcoming the declaration that henceforth "the highest aim of the Soviet state is to raise the population's living standards in every respect and secure a peaceful existence for its people."

These ideals are the common aspirations of mankind. The Free World will follow with the closest attention any effectual steps to translate these ideals into practice and into the techniques of governing.

But judging by what they tell us, it is difficult to conclude that the Soviet leaders have faced up to the issues of granting real freedom.

In all our experience we have learned that freedom can only be ensured by effective constitutional guaranties of individual liberties and by the existence of independent opposition political groupings. It is therefore dismaying to see the uncompromisingly totalitarian Soviet statement in Pravda of 6 July: "As for our country the Communist Party has been and will be the only master of the minds and thoughts, the spokesman, leader and organizer of the people."

Nevertheless, we sincerely hope that the Soviet authorities will carry out the internal reforms which they promise and that they will take steps to grant genuine independence to the nations of Eastern Europe. This would not only protect the Russian people but people everywhere against the now universally condemned Stalinist type of despotism. Then there would be an approach within Russia to the concept of government serving the people and depending upon their consent, and a departure from despotic rule which uses people primarily to aggrandize the State.

When that time comes, there can be real friendship between our two governments for then both would be serving peoples who historically have always been, and wish always to be, friends.

We shall, therefore, await with interest the practical steps they may take to realize the promised reforms domestically and their extension into the international scene.